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The Cultural Role of Monsters in Canada

This article considers the nature and function of monsters in Canadian society. The author maintains that recurring themes and motifs in a people's monster tales reflect social concerns and attitudes toward the environment. She suggests that peaceful, non-violent cultural values in Canada are well suited to the relegation of violent, aggressive attitudes to manlike monsters of the wilderness and that the vastness of the land conveniently permits the plausibility of these monsters existing in remote regions.

In their recent quest for a distinctive cultural identity, Canadians have, perhaps too often, tried to find what is unique and exclusive to their country. Such efforts have resulted largely in frustration and disillusionment, for there is little significant material of this nature to be found. The disillusioned have consequently fallen prey to and often joined the ranks of those who question the very existence of a Canadian culture. Of course, to the cultural scholar, such questioning is absurd, since all peoples have culture—only the nature of their culture is open to question.

Canadians might far more profitably look for that which is quantitatively rather than qualitatively Canadian in order to define and understand their culture. Little in the developed world, especially the heavily industrialized West, is unique to one country. Modern technology, travel, and immigration preclude the isolation which fosters such cultural distinctiveness. The cultures of most developed countries, particularly relatively recently settled ones like Canada, are mélanges of aspects and traits found and perhaps originating elsewhere, with very few characteristics that are indisputably indigenous. One could reasonably argue that this has always been the case, for people invariably transport cultural baggage when they move, and they have been moving, creating "new" cultures, since time immemorial.

What actually makes a "new" culture is the particular mixture of aspects that evolves and settles into the shared set of beliefs, concepts, and resulting behavioural patterns which constitute a culture. Basically, the distinctions among cultures must, given the tremendous similarities and shared char-

acteristics within the Western, developed world, be viewed as quantitative, not qualitative. It is from the emphases shown through the disparate quantities of identifiable traits that one can best discern the different natures of the cultures, specifically, their themes and preoccupations, their moral and ethical principles that make them what they are. Naturally there are, in some instances, unique characteristics which specify and isolate a given culture, but such cases are exceptional in the modern world.

It is important to demonstrate the validity of these ideas, not only to indicate to Canadians the futility of their search for "Canadianness" in exclusivity but also to clarify the nature of modern cultures. In such a validation it is best to isolate one aspect of Canadian culture, seek to demonstrate its international commonalities through cross-cultural analysis, identify the Canadian peculiarities if there are any, and note variances from international "norms" such as they are, watching for particular concentrations and recurring themes.

I propose here to undertake such an analysis of extraordinary beings in Canadian folklore.[1] Since the international parallels of the extant or known Canadian "monsters"[2] are readily available in standard folklore reference works[3] and are being considered by other scholars in some depth, I will focus my discussion on the particular concentrations and themes which are discernible in the Canadian lore. The actual existence of these extraordinary beings does not concern me here at all. Rather, it is the cultural phenomenon —real or imaginary—that is the issue. Since the stories about the creatures exist in Canadian folklore, the beings are part of the nation's culture. It is as such that I investigate them.

In one of her commentaries on Canadian literature, Margaret Atwood stated that "magic and monsters aren't usually associated with Canadian literature."[4] One could quite validly extend this comment to apply to all Canadian culture which, typically, is considered to be of a rather unimaginative, prosaic, and decidedly unmystical nature. Atwood argues that the supernatural does, indeed, exist in Canadian literature, as the past fifteen years of Canadian literary criticism have indicated. She labels this critical activity a "process of exhumation," since the "discoveries" of the supernatural pertain not merely to current works but to earlier ones as well. The process might better be considered a naked glance at the reality of Canadian culture as opposed to the previously common view of it within a predetermined paradigm. Most Canadians have tended to see their culture as they wished to, rather than as it was or is, and many persist in this tendency. Since the monsters have not popularly been associated with Canada, they have not assumed the cultural position they merit as a result of their prevalence and distribution.

Certainly there are and have been many extraordinary beings—most of

them quite legitimately categorized as monsters—in the folklore of the peoples of Canada. Tales about such creatures exist from coast to coast, among adults as well as children, and within most if not all cultural groups in Canada. The stories also stretch over the span of Canadian history, found among the native people prior to European contact and through the years to the present, although great variation in the level of belief held by people in the actual existence of the creatures is evident.

There is a wide but not unusual variety of extraordinary beings in Canadian oral tradition. Apart from the multitudinous ghosts and similar revenants which legitimately constitute a separate tradition, these extraordinary beings can be grouped loosely into the following six categories: frightening figures, mostly in childhood tradition;[3] little creatures of the elf or so-called fairy variety; cultural heroes in several human, animal, and super-being forms; evil creatures who are humans, humans invested with an evil spirit, or transformed humans; wild woods creatures, basically humanoid; and numerous lake and sea beasts considered to be wild, non-sentient beings. Many examples could be given for each of these categories, but a few will suffice to specify the nature and some important characteristics of the creatures under consideration.

The frightening figures belonging to the first category range from the generalized bogey man known to so many of us from our childhood to more specific apparitions such as "Raw Flesh and Bloody Bones," a Newfoundland creature matching his descriptive name.[6] Most everyone is willing to admit the "reality" in fancy of a range of such figures used mostly to discipline or control children. In their traditional cultures the native people had numerous such beings, including the cannibal woman D'Sonoqua of the Pacific North Coast Indians, who was said to devour youngsters who strayed into the woods,[7] and the Kudloopudlooaluk, which is "a fanciful kind of sea creature. Eskimo children are warned not to play too near the water for the Kudloopudlooaluk will get you if you don't watch out."[8] It is noteworthy, though not unique to Canadian tradition, that these figures are uniformly malevolent in nature and most commonly associated with dark and dangerous places like the forest or water. There is little, if any, adult belief in such beings, which was probably also the case in the traditional native cultures, as Wayne Suttles suggests in his article, "On the Cultural Track of the Sasquatch."[9]

Canadian elves or fairies are most common today in Newfoundland, though they have been known in French Canada and, very occasionally, in Nova Scotia. The Newfoundland fairy is a little creature of evil temperament known to do harm to animals and people rather than to concern his usually male self with inanimate things like land and homes. The Scots-Irish helpful elves or fairies did not cross the water (as according to belief they could not)

to the New World, despite the fact that some charming literary tales for children exist concerning a jolly, helpful race of "little people" in Nova Scotia. French-Canadian fairies are generally pesky and mischievous but relatively harmless, though they might lead someone astray in the dark or in the forest.

Culture heroes in Canada are far more common among the native people than any other group. The Mike Fink, Barney Beale, Jessie James, and similar type-heroes seldom appear in Canadian tales. There are, of course, some Paul Bunyan stories as well as some about the Cape Breton giants, especially Angus McAskill, and some tall tales in various locales.[10] Basically, Canada is not (despite its seemingly favourable natural and historical conditions) a cultural milieu conducive to heroes, since the majority of Canadians have long denigrated hero-worship. The native cultures differed markedly, for they considered hero adulation and emulation in a positive light. Many, in fact probably most, of their cultural heroes might be classified as Tricksters or Trickster-like figures. These include Raven, the transformer on the Pacific North Coast; Nanabozho, the man-god of the Eastern Woodlands; and Glooscap, the supernatural giant of the Micmacs. Paul Radin discusses the characteristics of such creatures at length, with specific reference to Canadian examples, in his classic study, *The Trickster*.[11] It is important to note here that these characteristics include unpredictability, disregard for social mores and practices, and the mixing of instinctual behaviour and cultivated traits.

The various creatures possessed of or manifesting evil are a particularly interesting form of extraordinary being in Canadian tradition. These creatures may be basically human, like the vampire or Dracula figures found in belief legends told by some Ontarian Kashubs,[12] humans possessed of evil, like the unfortunate Algonkian Indians who become cannibalistic Windigos,[13] or transformed humans, like the "loup-garou" or werewolf found quite frequently in French-Canadian tradition. The distinctions among these categories rest in the extent of deviation from the human norm. The so-called vampires may simply have characteristics (such as being the seventh son of a seventh son or a caul at birth) which others perceive as evidence of difference and therefore of their predestined fate, whereas the possessed human overtly displays aberrant behaviour. The transformed human no longer has the form of a man, having assumed a bestial shape as a result of his evil behaviour when human. For instance, the "loup-garou" is frequently considered to be a blasphemer turned beast because he failed to live up to the religious precepts of his culture. One such tale is included in Claude Aubry's popular collection, *The Magic Fiddler and Other Legends from French Canada*.[14] The evil beings like the "loup-garou" are, invariably, some form of a Man-Beast, in whom the beast is, sometimes at least, predominant.

The wild woods creatures of the fifth category are somewhat similar, though they are seldom considered to be evil—dangerous and frightening perhaps, but not truly evil. They are humanoid, generally larger than life, and sentient, though not particularly intelligent. The best example, and the most widely known Canadian monster, is the Sasquatch. There are more reports of, publications about, and attempts to authenticate the existence of this creature than of any other extraordinary being in Canada. Rather complete descriptions exist,[15] obviating any necessity to discuss at length the characteristics of this Canadian version of the Yeti or abominable snowman. However, it should be noted that, according to the accounts, these creatures either ignore or harass mankind, never help him, are commonly reported near water, and strongly resemble an enlarged form of a very primitive human.

The next best known Canadian monster is the most famous of the creatures in the last category. This is Ogopogo, the Okanagan relative of the Loch Ness monster. This beast is but one of the many lake and sea monsters reported in Canadian waters: such water beasts comprise the largest single category of extraordinary beings found in Canadian tradition. Many of the recent publications concerning monsters, like Betty Sanders Garner's *Canada's Monsters*, Mary Moon's *Ogopogo*, and Arlene Gaal's *Beneath the Depths*,[16] focus on the water beasts, giving accounts of creatures, mostly eel-like or serpentine and of various colours and sizes, reported in the oceans and lakes of Canada, including Lake Erie, Lake Simcoe, Lake Superior, and Lake Ainslie in Cape Breton Island, among many others. Somewhat different beasts are also represented in the accounts, such as the giant, (twenty-to-twenty-five-metre-long), fast-moving, "shark-like" creature with a long mouth like an alligator's which is lined with menacing teeth, as described in Ralph Surette's article "The Creature Who Waits for Men at Sea," in John Braddock's discussion of "Monsters of the Maritimes," and elsewhere.[17] Cold Lake, on the border between Saskatchewan and Alberta, is said to harbour a white humpbacked creature supposedly the size of a whale and called "Kinosoo" by the local Indians.[18] And there is Sedna, the sea hag of Inuit tradition, whose amputated fingers became the first seal and walrus, but whose temper was fearsome and credited with vicious storms and other disasters. Finally, there is the giant squid of Atlantic-Canadian folklore, bearing marked resemblance to the monster in Jules Verne's *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*. This creature has provided great incentive and encouragement to the monster hunters and believers who put particular stock in the fact that until early in this century the giant squid was thought to exist only in folktales. It was, however, actually found, and various specimens have been studied by, among others, marine biologist F. A. Aldrich and his colleagues at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. Seemingly, all

the Canadian water monsters are believed to be wild beasts of non-sentient varieties.

There are obvious international parallels for virtually all the motifs which occur in Canadian monster tales, and one need only refer to the Aarne-Thompson or Baughman indices of folktale types to discover related stories from many nations. I cannot say for certain that no exclusively Canadian monster tales exist, for I have not yet completed the necessary but time-consuming cross-cultural analysis of motifs, motif-clusters, and tales. Nonetheless, on the basis of my studies to date, I am fairly certain that few, if any, tales exist that are unique to Canada and that the difference between the type of motif found in the Canadian versions of monster tales and those of other nations is scarcely significant. It is the relative proportion of the occurence of certain motifs that distinguishes the Canadian traditions from those of other countries.

There are a number of features that recur frequently in the Canadian tales of extraordinary beings but which are in no way to be considered unique to them. The most obvious feature of the corpus of Canadian monster beliefs is the generally negative aspect of the creatures portrayed. Mostly, they are malevolent and, when not, disinterested, but they are almost never purposefully helpful to humankind. Evil is a, if not the, primary characteristic of many Canadian monsters—either they bring or do evil or they appear as a result of evil having been done.

Another immediately apparent aspect of Canadian monsters is their association with wild places, that is, the sea, the dark or dense forest, deep lakes, and so on. There is an unpredictable quality about most of these milieux and a decided aura of the Unknown. The Kudloopudlooaluk, for instance, frequents the frigid and, to the Inuit, dangerous sea with its shifting ice; Lake Okanagan, the Ogopogo's haunt, is like most "monster" lakes in that it is supposedly bottomless and given to frequent squalls; the Coast Mountains that the Sasquatch calls home are renowned for dense jungle-like growth and variable weather. It must be noted, however, that this environmental relationship is not seemingly deterministic, for there is no predictability involved—not all wild areas harbour monsters, though most seem capable of doing so.

There is an interesting, though not entirely unexpected, religious or ethical aspect to many of the extraordinary beings in Canadian folklore. The "loup-garou," the Windigo, and the goblin-like devils described in the tale of "Le Corriveau"[19] are examples of evil beings whose existence is the result of religious or moral-ethical transgressions. In the instance of the Windigo, the transgression may be merely one of thought, not action, since cannibalistic desires alone are considered antisocial and disgusting in the culture.

Most of the monsters found in the larger Canadian culture are, interestingly enough, also found among the native people's traditions. The aboriginal Canadians did not necessarily consider such creatures to be supernatural, as both Wayne Suttles and Morton Teicher cogently argue,[20] but rather saw them as a part of their natural world. Just how much of Canadian monster tradition is derived from the native cultures is debatable; the relationships, however, are undeniable.

Finally, there is a decided importance of water in Canadian monster tales. Most frequently, the creatures are reported in or near water, or water figures in some other way in the stories.

Having identified these recurring features, it is now necessary to consider the possible explanations for them and the cultural information they contain. Psychological theories might be useful but need not be employed to discern some of the underlying meanings of the prevalence of these characteristics. One could, for example, follow Freudian or Jungian theory in suggesting that the negative aspect of Canadian monsters is a reflection of the dark, evil side Canadians see in themselves and therefore, as humans generally do, project on the environment. Certainly Jung's interpretation of the Trickster figure (or, in his terms, archetype) in Radin's famous study is in this vein, where such cultural heroes are, in their very nature, a reflection of man's perception of reality and, more important, of himself within that reality.

Psychoanalytic interpretations aside, Canadians have settled only a small portion of their country, establishing pockets of civilization in a vast, wild land and protecting themselves from the larger environment or reality which they continue to fear. Few Canadians know the wilderness that comprises the larger part of their country; most regard it as unpredictable, malevolent, and uncontrollable, just like the infamous Canadian climate. Most commonly, Canadians seem to view nature as a force (which is frequently portrayed as a tangible thing or being in the nation's literature) apart from themselves and working upon them. Nature is larger than life; one might say it is "monstrous." It is the exception when Canadians see nature as a part of their reality with which they are in some sort of symbiotic relationship. The wilderness tends to be associated both with the native people and with danger or evil, an interesting duality since the Indians were considered by many people of former times to be savages and therefore evil. Certainly, British cultural tradition—which has been so influential in Canada—seems to dichotomize civilization and savagery, settlement and wilderness, the controlled and the uncontrollable. The monsters in Canada, then, represent the antithesis of the culture the British sought to foster here—the beasts are negative; civilization is positive. The monsters personify the uncivilized and the underdeveloped in Canada and are an indication of beliefs held by Canadians and foreigners alike that the country is, to an extent, primitive or undercivilized. Extraordi-

nary beings are the embodiment of the wilderness which, according to their "garrison mentality," Canadians have tried to separate and protect themselves from. Such noted scholars of Canada as Northrop Frye argue that this mentality has characterized Canadian culture since its naissance,[21] and certainly it is evident in the settlement pattern, the artistic products (especially the literature), and the current demographic mosaic character of the country.[22]

It is worth noting that the French settlers were less prone to having a garrison mentality than were the British. Consequently, the French Canadian view of the wilderness was not so whole-heartedly negative, just as the extraordinary beings, like the "lutins" or fairies, which are in their tradition and represent that wilderness are not. Nor did the French Canadians see themselves as quite so separate from the wilderness as the British wished to be. The French Canadians did not bifurcate their reality into civilized and savage to the same degree as the English Canadians have done, with the result that they saw an interaction between men and monsters and a certain responsibility in man's actions for the presence of the beasts. In the few cases where interaction occurs between monsters and English Canadians, the persons involved are almost invariably "familiars" of the wild like Alfred Ostman, who is supposed to have lived as a captive among a Sasquatch family for six days in 1924.[23]

The French settlers in Canada seem to have had a more realistic view than their British counterparts of the native people and their natural milieu and to have developed a healthy respect for both. Certain commonalities of world view between the French Canadians and the native people emerged, especially a dualistic view of the natural world such as is represented in native culture by the Trickster figure, who is good and evil, cruel often to be kind, helpful and harmful, but, above all else, powerful. However, French-Canadian tradition does not contain many more Trickster figures than does the English Canadian; the duality in the French-Canadian world view is more frequently revealed through two separate figures or sets of figures, hence the prevalence in their folklore of the Devil and devil-like creatures symbolizing evil aspects. The presence of such figures as opposed to Tricksters concurs with the teleological perspective of the French Canadians which held that all was as ordained by God. It was God's will that the Devil exist; it was man's fate to abide with and follow God's will. The intensely religious outlook on life possessed by the French settlers was passed on to their descendants for generations.

The religiosity of Canadian monster beliefs is by no means, however, owing exclusively to the French settlers, for religion in its broadest moral and ethical sense (as well as actual ecclesiastical orderings) has been a dominant force in Canada for many years, and Canadians continue to consider

themselves a religious people.[24] The nation prides itself on its morality, it peacefulness and non-aggressiveness, its Christian charity, its tolerance, and its concern for law and order. Certainly, the presence of creatures in the national folklore who are evil by virtue of disobeying cultural moral-ethical precepts is in keeping with this Canadian concern for "goodness."

That so many monster beliefs existing in the Canadian culture-at-large are also found in the native people's folklore suggests a considerable influence of the native cultures on the larger one or, at least, a strong relationship between the two. In fact, there has been a decided, though far from fully recognized, influence of the native people on Canadian culture, especially on the national psyche as expressed in attitudes present in the folklore. For the non-native Canadian, the native people have, for some time but generally without the knowledge of either group, symbolized the nation itself. They seem to embody attitudes that many Canadians have about their country, that they think foreigners have towards Canada, and that some foreigners do, indeed, have—namely, that the country is savage, backward, close to nature, and largely uncultivated. If one figure from the national folklore were to be selected to represent this image, no better one than the Sasquatch could be chosen. Besides possessing all the characteristics listed above, he is associated with the Indians and is big and dull, just as Canada is to many people.

Upon their arrival in Canada, many British settlers tended to see themselves as a particular goodness transported into a domain of evil.[25] This attitude was in keeping with their imperialist and social-Darwinist notions as well as the garrison mentality, all of which contributed to making relations with the native people difficult, to say the least. Any negative opinions of the native people aside, the newcomers did of necessity rely upon the indigenous people for their knowledge of the country, just as today many non-native Canadians depend on the native people and their culture for that which is truly Canadian. The prevalence, then, of native-related monster beliefs reflects this generally unaccepted relationship between the natives' traditions and the larger culture, although it must not be considered to indicate that the beliefs necessarily originated in the native cultures.

The importance of water in the monster tales is in keeping with the prominence of water in Canada, not only physically but also historically. The waterways were of unquestionable importance in the settlement of the country and, in its subsequent development, they were crucial to economic enterprises, transportation, and communication. It can logically be argued, as Donald Creighton has done in *The Empire of the St. Lawrence,*[26] that the waterways, especially the east-west river systems, made Canada feasible as a nation. Today, water maintains its significance for leisure-time activities, generation of power, various manufacturing and other economic activities,

and transportation. That water figures prominently in the Canadian monster tales is, then, predictable and expected, given both the environment and culture in which they occur.

The recurring features in the monster tales obviously indicate and reflect preoccupations and themes in Canadian culture. The tales exhibit the attitudes of Canadians towards their natural environment and, undoubtedly, towards themselves as well. Within Canadian culture, the monster tales and beliefs therefore have a several-faceted role. First, they permit the expression of basic concerns, of which many Canadians are not aware, in the culture. In this respect, these tales are similar to any other artistic or creative medium. Second, they permit the existence of evil in a culture which has denied violence, aggression, and rebellion. These negative characteristics are invested in supernatural beings, thus permitting the persistence of the treasured cultural beliefs. Finally, the monster tales and beliefs express the feelings many Canadians have towards their country, in particular, the mixture of fear and fascination they possess towards the land, the prime source of imagery in Canada. There is a heavy dependence on nature in many parts of Canada and a close relationship with the natural elements, yet a helplessness in the face of the natural world and an inability to control and capitalize upon its power. The monsters symbolize and "explain" this inability, for they are beyond nature and are uncontrollable. Man's ambivalence towards nature is, therefore, explicable.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that there is nothing particularly "Canadian" about the country's monster beliefs in the sense of there being aspects which are found only in this culture. My investigation suggests that there is little point within a country such as Canada, which assumed its national identity during the industrialized era, in pursuing cultural uniqueness and exclusivity such as is typically associated with pre-industrial, peasant states. Nonetheless, extraordinary beings are a surprisingly profitable area of investigation since they are a part of the people's own culture—the unofficial or folk level of culture—which persists not through official or institutional support, but because it is of particular and peculiar importance to the people themselves. Canadian monsters are a means to understand the Canadian mind and the real Canadian culture.

Notes

1. I have been investigating the folklore of these creatures for some time and have published a previous article on the subject, "Monsters of the West: the Sasquatch and the Ogopogo," in Edith Fowke, ed. *Folklore of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), pp. 251–62. In 1977–78 I had a Canada Council Leave Fellowship for a project entitled "Extraordinary Beings in Canadian Folklore." I am grateful to the Canada Council for this support.
2. I am using the term "monsters" interchangeably with "extraordinary beings" to mean creatures currently considered beyond the ordinary and not extant according to modern natural science. I prefer the latter term to the more common "monsters," which connotes creatures of grandiose proportions and evil nature—characteristics that are not necessarily possessed by all beings for which the word is popularly used.
3. See Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki: Academia Scientarium Fennica, 1973); Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), and Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, rev. ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966).
4. "Canadian Monsters: Some Aspects of the Supernatural in Canadian Fiction," in David Staines, ed., *The Canadian Imagination: Dimensions of a Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 98.
5. Meaning the traditions taught to or provided for children as opposed to children's traditions which are those they learn from each other and pass amongst themselves apart from adult involvement.
6. See John D. A. Widdowson, "Aspects of Traditional Verbal Control: Threats and Threatening Figures in Newfoundland Folklore" (Ph.D. diss., Memorial University, 1972) for a discussion of this and related frightening figures.
7. See Emily Carr's sensitive account of this aspect of B.C. Indian tradition in *Klee Wyck* (Toronto: Clark, Irwin, 1941), pp. 32–40.
8. *Baker Lake Prints 1971* (Yellowknife: Government of the Northwest Territories, 1971), p. 14.
9. *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 6, no. 1 (1972): 65–90.
10. Pertinent Canadian tall tale collections and discussions include the following: Robert Gard, *Johnny Chinook, Tall Tales and True from the Canadian West* (London: Longmans, Green, 1945); Herbert Halpert, "Tall Tales and Other Yarns from Calgary, Alberta," *California Folklore Quarterly* 4 (1945): 29–49; B. V. Bedore, *Tall Tales of Joe Mufferaw* (Arnprior, Ont.: Mufferaw, 1966); and Richard Tallman, "The Tall Tale Tradition and the Teller: a biographical contextual study of a storyteller, Robert Coffil of Blomidon, Nova Scotia" (Ph.D. diss., Memorial University, 1974).
11. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1956).
12. As described in Jan Perkowski, *Vampires, Dwarves, and Witches among the Ontario Kashubs* (Ottawa: National Museum, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Mercury Series no. 1, 1972).
13. The subject of Morton Teicher's valuable work, *Windigo Psychosis: A study of a relationship between belief and behavior among the Indians of Northeastern Canada* (Seattle: University of Washington Press for the American Ethnological Society, 1971).
14. (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1968), pp. 79–93.
15. See John Green's several publications including *On the Track of the Sasquatch, The Sasquatch File*, and *Year of the Sasquatch* (Agassiz, B.C.: Cheam Publishing, 1969, 1970, and 1970 respectively); Don Hunter and René Dahinden, *Sasquatch* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973); and John R. Napier, *Bigfoot; The Yeti and Sasquatch in Myth and Reality* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972) for description and numerous accounts of sightings.

16. Garner, (Hamilton: Potlatch Publications, 1976); Moon, (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1977); and Gaal, ([Creston, B.C.]: *Valley Review*, 1976).
17. Surette, *Weekend Magazine*, 30 October 1976, p. 8; and Braddock, *Atlantic Advocate* 58, no. 5 (1968): 12–17.
18. *Weekend Magazine*, 6 November 1976, p. 8.
19. One of the several folktales included in Phillipe Aubert de Gaspé's semi-autobiographical novel, *Les anciens Canadiens* (Québec: Desbarats and Derbishire, 1863), translated by C. G. D. Roberts as *Canadians of Old* (1890; rpt. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974).
20. See Wayne Suttles' article mentioned in the text and Teicher's study cited in note 11.
21. As he discusses in his "Conclusion" in Carl F. Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 822–49.
22. I discuss the relationships between the garrison mentality and both the settlement pattern and the mosaic in my book, *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Mercury Series no. 26, 1979). See Chapters 2 and 8.
23. As recounted to John Green in 1958 and reported in detail in his book, *On the Track of the Sasquatch.*
24. There was a popular survey taken several years ago in which an overwhelming majority of the Canadian people declared themselves to be religious and maintained that Canada was a religious country, though many persons interviewed did not claim to belong to any given church.
25. Susannah Moodie's accounts of life in frontier Canada, especially *Roughing it in the Bush* (1852; rpt. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1962), is exemplary of many works by British settlers which reflect this attitude.
26. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956).